

Stolen History: An Examination into the Theft of Archeological Resources

An Honors Thesis (HONR 499)

By

Spencer Sabinske

Thesis Advisor

Dr. Mark Hill / /

**Ball State University
Muncie, Indiana**

November 2015

Expected Date of Graduation

December 2016

SPC011
Undergrad
Thesis
LD
2489
.24
2016
.523

Abstract

Archeology is important around the world, possibly more today than ever before. With the increasing instability in many archeologically rich parts of the world, there is an ever increasing danger that these resources could be lost forever. Increasing threats from both organized and unorganized looters poses a threat to the stability of archeological sites. This examination studies the relationships and individual problems that these regions face, as well as looking at common problems that appear across the globe. I analyze this criminal behavior and look for possible solutions that could help rectify this growing issue.

The goal of this thesis is to examine the trend of archeological artifacts being stolen and to analyze the primary types of offenders, causes for theft, and possible solutions to this problem. The research I will be undertaking for this project will primarily consist of analysis of reports from various regions around the world where archeological theft and trade has formed an apparent and distinguishable pattern. These regions include, but are not limited to, Peru, the Southwestern United States, Iraq, and the Ohio River Valley. The projected outcome for this thesis is a paper that presents an overall view of this issue and summarizes it in a way that those outside of the archeological profession can understand.

My desire to work on this topic is twofold. As a criminal justice major, this type of crime is often not enforced or overlooked. Taking a look at this crime that is often ignored by major criminal justice agencies will allow me see areas where the criminal justice system has failed and how it can be improved.

Secondly, I am working towards becoming a salvage diver. With knowledge of all the history lost forever due to poor strategies and a focus on short term gains, I understand how fast unregulated appropriation of artifacts can destroy important historical sites. Examining ways to combat theft on land, measures to help underwater reclamation efforts could be developed.

Those who are not already engaged in the field of archaeology are the intended audience for this thesis. The intention is to bring this crime to the attention of those who have little contact with archeology and perhaps do not understand the scope or full effects of artifact theft. There are many individuals who are not even aware that this crime exists in significant numbers and it is also a goal of this paper to demonstrate that this problem

is a notable portion of overall crime statistics. Other individuals who perhaps know of this crime but not its full implications, such as criminal justice professionals, are also a group that I wish to inform in this thesis. Through highlighting the areas of operation and major tendencies of artifact thieves, law enforcement officials and researchers will have a better understanding of how these criminals operate and how to stop them.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Mark Hill for his assistance throughout this project. His expertise and direction were invaluable in completing this task.

Concerning the recovery of historical artifacts, there are two major threats to preserving the integrity of the object. The first of these is damage from natural elements such as corrosion, weathering, and natural decay of materials. The second type of danger comes from unauthorized reclamation of these resources, specifically from individuals and organizations whose purpose is to gather these resources for profit and with little regard to preservation.

Complicating issues involving the protection of antiquities, attempts to stem the flow of illegally obtained artifacts has been an uphill struggle against jurisdictional limits, outdated legislature, and socioeconomic factors. In recent years especially, technology has made it easier for individuals involved in archaeological theft to gather information and find potential buyers. Furthermore, civil unrest in archaeologically rich locations in the Middle East and North Africa have created opportunities for individuals to engage in theft and sale of artifacts with little opposition.

In response to these increased opportunities for theft to occur, law enforcement and legislature must change their approach to meet the adapting criminal element. The first step of this process is to identify what efforts are effective and then to examine how generalizable those measures would be to archaeological theft as a whole. Regional information should also be considered as it would better allow law enforcement to assess and control illegal thefts and sale that occur within their specific region of influence. With this actionable information, authorities and officials can create a better designed system to deal with this growing issue.

One region in particular has seen a dramatic rise in the theft and sale of artifacts in recent years. Caught in a civil war and home to the growth of new terrorist organizations,

Syria has presented a scenario where there is a clear and present danger to relics. Home to ruins that in some cases are over two thousand years old, there is a wealth of history that is currently being looted and destroyed.

In an interview with PBS NewsHour, Dr. Assaad Seif, an archaeologist with Lebanon's Directorate General of Antiquities, estimated that between five and ten million dollars' worth of antiquities had been smuggled between the border of Syria and Lebanon (Biggs, 2015). The funding this kind of activity creates is an incentive for groups such as the Islamic State to partake in looting. Areas under the control of these kinds of militant groups are primed for theft as the paramilitary groups allow looting and take a percentage of the sales (Biggs, 2015). As these groups expand their influence, more areas come under threat as heritage sites lose the protection of governments.

The threat of destruction is also something that has to be considered in these areas. The ideological nature of many of the paramilitary groups in the Middle East create an environment where there is a chance important relics, especially those with ties to religion, will be destroyed (Biggs, 2015). Preservation in these cases is not only guarding against theft, but also shielding from hostile intentions meant to completely destroy the artifacts.

Even in the best of cases, war brings a very real threat to the preservation of archeological sites. In Syria this has been demonstrated as artifact sites are being converted for military use. Active garrisons have settled in several cities with great historic value such as Aleppo, Hama, Ebla, and Homs (Chivers, 2013).

In Ebla, famous for underground passages found beneath the city, thieves loot burial sites hoping to find jewelry and other valuables that might have been interred with

their owners (Chivers, 2013). Occupied by rebel forces, Elba was converted for military use due to its prime location for spotting planes. Since war has erupted in Syria, many graves have been disinterred by thieves and their contents destroyed.

The destruction and theft in Syria mirrors the looting that occurred during the American invasion and following insurgency in Iraq. When Baghdad fell to American forces in 2003, it is estimated that approximately ten thousand artifacts were taken from the National Museum of Iraq's collection (Wilson, 2007).

Among the pieces was one of the world's oldest carved stone vessels, the Warka vase, and an eighth-century B.C. sculpture called "Lioness Attacking a Nubian." These items were both on the list of the top forty artifacts to recover. One theory is that buyers from foreign countries supplied lists of items such as these for looters to search for, and the thefts of some of the items were not opportunistic but planned (Wilson, 2007).

Much like in Syria, looting in Iraq was an industrial effort fueled by conflict. Often, militants would act as middlemen and collect artifacts from locals before reselling the items at an exponentially increased price. This funding could then be used to buy weapons and supplies to assist their war effort (Wilson, 2007).

The looting of the Baghdad Museum remains one of the clearest cases of the international community failing to protect world heritage. In both of these cases, the inadequacy of governments to protect archaeological items has allowed militants to fund their operations with stolen artifacts. The situation in Iraq has improved somewhat in recent years, but as the civil war in Syria leaks into surrounding regions the country's dig sites may be compromised again.

In 2015 a study was undertaken comparing evidence of looting at sites in southern Iraq compared to evidence of looting recorded in 2003. The study showed in 2003, a total of six hundred and four sites had shown evidence of looting. This comprised forty-one percent of the total sites surveyed (Stone, 2015). In 2015, only three-hundred and thirty-four sites showed evidence of looting.

Although the total number has dropped, political instability and financial hardship could spur a new rise in plundering. In southern Iraq especially, an area with a large majority of Shiite Muslims, financial pressures could easily increase without American protection in the region and the advance of Sunni militant regimes such as the Islamic State. During the Baathist regime in Iraq, a similar event occurred where Shiite farmers in the south resorted to looting archaeological sites after irrigation to the south was cut by the ruling Sunni government. In a financial crisis, the farmers resorted to theft to provide for their needs (Stone, 2015).

With the lines between Syria and Iraq in a state of flux, an aggressive Sunni government like that of the Islamic State may proceed to harass Shiite farmers in the south. Under these conditions, the farmers could be forced to resort to the same tactics they employed under the Baathists to survive.

At the time of the survey, eighty-two sites that had not been damaged in 2003 now showed extreme damage (Stone, 2015). This demonstrates that while the overall trend in looting is decreasing, there is still danger of preserved sites being ruined and undocumented locations being completely stripped. The danger here doesn't come from the number of sites affected, but how it shows the government has little control in protecting its assets and assures the populace that the sites are vulnerable.

While it is difficult to find a solution to the problem facing the Middle East, it is important to understand the economics of how and why this industry operates in the region. While it may be possible to utilize force to compel locals to stop looting, this raises several ethical questions about who should intervene or if foreign powers have the right to do so. Furthermore, in attempts to provide a long-term solution to the issue, it would be more productive to focus on the demand side of the equation than the suppliers.

Since locals often use militants as middlemen and the artifacts are sold on the black market, it would be too difficult to attempt to curb these activities with the ones digging the sites up. While they may be the most visible participants in looting, they receive relatively little compensation and are too numerous to control. Those individuals that provide targets to middlemen who then pass on that information to suppliers cause much more havoc by generating interest in illicit trade. Targeting the issue this way also allows authorities to focus their efforts much more narrowly, utilizing limited resources more efficiently.

The limited resources many countries have dedicated towards archaeological theft preclude full-time protection of archaeological sites, a technique that works only sporadically at best (Kersel, 2008). Some suggestions that have been put forth so far include focusing on the issue of provenience, specifically for institutions such as museums and research institutions, which are held to a higher standard of ethical obligation (2008). One idea that may be better applied today than in the past is the concept of creating negative association.

Already demonstrated with anti-smoking campaigns, the concept of negative association is to build into the public's mind the idea that looting is a negative activity

that should be avoided. Essentially, the goal of this movement would be to create a taboo where looting from these archaeological sites would have a social stigma attached to it that outweighed potential benefits.

To properly test this however, it would be prudent to start with randomized controlled trials to assess the most effective methodology to act as the medium for the anti-looting campaign. With current trends, and accounting for recent movements in the target area, I believe the most efficient method would be an online campaign focusing on social media sites.

During the spring of 2011, a series of uprisings occurred in multiple Arab countries, sparked off by the influx of virtual relations that was ushered in by the Internet and social media (Soengas, 2013). International communication allows for the exchange of ideas; it was this communication that helped facilitate the uprisings (2013).

The Middle East has shown to be receptive to social media sites regarding the importation of foreign ideals, as demonstrated in the Arab Spring, and that makes the Internet a prime medium to test the anti-looting campaign. Costs would be minimal compared to television or radio-based advertisement campaigns, and with focused testing it would be possible to fine tune messages towards specific regions.

By working to change the opinions of the population through targeted advertisements, it would be possible to attack sources of looting peacefully rather than through use of force. This also has the added benefit of allowing non-governmental organizations, with limited authority, to attempt to influence regions where looting is occurring and where authorities fail to take a strong stance on the issue.

Another area of interest in regards to archaeological theft is the American Southwest. This area, rich with various Native American cultures, mirrors the Middle East with many locals causing damage to sites by scavenging for materials they can sell. In one area of Northeast Texas, Caddo Indian cemeteries have been extensively damaged by locals seeking pottery.

Since at least the early 1900s, Caddo cemeteries have been the target of grave robbers. These phenomena have been commented on by various officials, including professors from the Smithsonian and the University of Texas, who noted there seemed to be little way to combat the looters except to recover the artifacts before the looters (Perttula & Nelson, 1998).

It is estimated that hundreds of cemeteries and thousands of graves have been disturbed by looters, and it is known that there are at least three hundred and forty-eight prehistoric Caddo cemeteries and over three thousand individual graves (Kenmotsu & Perttula, 1993). The scale of this problem and the timeframe it has endured is what makes this such a large issue. The problem of looting in the Southwest was being discussed by archaeological professionals nearly a hundred years ago and the fact it persists today signals that something is wrong.

What complicates matters is that while these kinds of activities are illegal, it has become embedded in the culture of the region and been accepted into their cultural mores. To fight against looting now is an uphill battle, an issue that becomes more dangerous as criminal elements have taken to grave robbing in the Southwest.

The American Southwest is one of the rare areas of America where foreign criminals have easy access. The Mexican-American border prevents law enforcement

from either side from being able to easily control criminals who skirt the border. This inability to directly confront the criminals makes it very difficult to track and deter them from disturbing historical sites.

South of the American border, cartels have even more power and it takes a proportionally larger amount of force to contend with them. An example of this would be in Honduras, when a new site was located in the Mosquitia rainforest. Fearing nearby drug smugglers who use the forest to as a path towards the United States, the government deployed military forces to help secure the ancient city (Sherwell, 2015).

There is a distinct separation between individuals and cartels engaging in looting. The largest difference between the two comes primarily in their relationship with violence. Generally, individuals involved with looting on an organized level are more predisposed towards violence and are better equipped to engage in fights against authorities.

The combative nature of these organizations, and their extra-judicial status, draws similarities to paramilitary organizations currently involved in looting in the Middle East. Both types of organizations use violence to accomplish their goals, but it is important to note that many South American organizations lack an ideological motivation. It is also vital to note that unlike the situation in the Middle East, established governments still exist and operate in the same area as the cartels.

The question of why these cartels are engaging in antiquity appropriation can be tied primarily to monetary benefits (Yates, Kila, & Balcells, 2014). The same organizations that traffic narcotics have seized the opportunity to exploit the high price these commodities command. During the second half of the twentieth century, the

American art market developed a demand for non-western art (Yates, Kila, & Balcells, 2014). The relatively untapped resources of Central America provided the supply for this rush, which can be seen in institutions such as the Nelson Rockefeller Museum of Primitive Art in New York (Yates, Kila, & Balcells, 2014).

The funding of illicit activities by buyers in the United States can be tied to the development of looting in South America. At the same time that buyers' interest developed in America, an economic downturn drove antiquities prices higher in South and Central American countries (Yates, Kila, & Balcells, 2014). As the economic value of antiquities rose, interest in the appropriation of artifacts increased in criminal elements who saw the opportunity to exploit the growing market (Yates, Kila, & Balcells, 2014).

The American Southwest is the continuation of economic activities developed by criminal organizations in Central and South America. The movement of antiquities to foreign markets required organization which smuggling organizations supplied. As these groups operated more frequently in the United States, sites that normally had only been accessed by locals became vulnerable to the cartels.

The question of how to engage the cartels is a complicated issue as antiquities are a secondary interest to them. What drives the interest of these organizations is wealth, so the most effective methodology appears to be making artifacts unattractive as a source of income. Certain measures have already been put into place to build this effect by making it difficult for American buyers. Since the creation of the illicit market in South and Central America was created by interest in the United States, the fastest way to create change would be to focus in that area. By halting interest in the cartels for artifacts, sites that they endanger in the American Southwest would no longer be under as great a threat.

The other issue that threatens the Southwest, locals who excavate the sites, is more easily dealt with. These individuals are more easily controlled and deterred with traditional legal measures. Currently, the government has taken considerable action against this kind of looting, such as the instance in Salt Lake City.

In a two-year sting operation, federal agents tracked individuals who were trafficking artifacts stolen from tribal and federal land in Utah. The results of the investigation led to the arrest or issuing of warrants for arrest of twenty-three people (Johnson, 2009). This kind of legal action is more helpful in that state assistance as the federal government is better equipped to deal with issues that cross state lines.

The Four Corners area, where Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado meet, is one region of the Southwest where recent development has opened up previously remote areas (Johnson, 2009). As these largely unmapped federal lands become easier to access, the risk that they will be utilized by individuals seeking new sites to exploit rises. With this increasing danger, the federal government must work to change the culture of the region by proving that it will enforce laws to prevent looting.

In the case mentioned, approximately two-hundred and sixty-five artifacts had been stolen and released to the market. The value of these artifacts was placed at three-hundred and thirty-six thousand dollars, a powerful incentive which reinforces the embedded thought process that looting is an acceptable practice. With a history of looting that stretches back over a hundred years, the American Southwest offers a domestic problem that needs to be addressed before the United States can put an end to looting.

Besides the Southwest, the preservation of American history is also threatened in another area. The Midwest offers its own unique set of problems in regards to the

destruction and misappropriation of artifacts. The issues here reflect not only the terrain and types of artifacts stolen, but also the type of criminal with which authorities must contend.

One feature the looters in the Midwest have in common with other offenders is that they are often locals. The offenders in the Midwest are comparable to the criminals found in Texas who disrupt sites out of cultural norms rather than economic distress. While there is economic incentive to sell their stolen goods, many have other opportunities for legal income. This culture of looting was found in the famous GE Mound case, where a difference between laws and the local culture was visible.

In the summer of 1988, a Hopewell mound was looted. The site was located on General Electric company property near Mount Vernon, Indiana, and overlooking the Ohio River. This occurred during site construction after a consulting archaeologist had surveyed the site. The artificial nature of the mound was not apparent, and instructions were left with the construction company to contact state authorities if artifacts were found during work (Munson, Jones, & Fry, 1995).

Once looters heard that the new construction site had artifacts being unearthed, opportunists came onto the site to dig and remove the valuable pieces (Munson, Jones, & Fry, 1995). What elevated this case was the additional feature that goods stolen from this site were later transported into other states, violating federal laws. After several individuals tipped off authorities to what was transpiring, the ensuing investigation turned several thousand artifacts that had been taken from the GE Mound (Munson, Jones, & Fry 1995).

The significance of the GE Mound comes from its age, size, and what it demonstrated about amateur archaeologists. During the course of the investigation, it was assessed that the site was approximately two thousand years old. The site is also one of the largest Hopewell mounds ever constructed and eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, according to the Indiana State Historic Preservation Office (Munson, Jones, & Fry, 1995). Its cultural legacy is also of importance, showcasing the disregard that looters hold towards regulation of dig sites.

During the trial of one of the individuals accused of looting, the defense attempted to paint the looting as “artifact collecting” or “preservation” (Munson, Jones, & Fry, 1995). In his public statements made before his visit to the GE Mound, the individual demonstrated that he was aware of state and federal regulations regarding archaeological findings and ignored those laws (Munson, Jones, & Fry 1995).

The attitude put on display during the GE Mound case is a perfect example of how damaging local cultures can be. Even when made aware of laws and regulations, individuals engaged in illicit artifact gathering continue by justifying their activities. A common argument used is that professional archaeologists hoard relics in storerooms, while collectors who illegally gather artifacts keep them out for the public to see (Munson, Jones, & Fry, 1995).

The problem with this attitude is that it comes from a half-knowledge. Amateur archaeologists scavenge the best artifacts without proper cataloging or recovery methodology all while leaving lesser pieces. While they know what to look for, they often overlook artifacts of little monetary value or damaged relics that still hold significant historical value. Shovels and other damaging tools are common to extricate

goods and can irreversibly damage sites (Munson, Jones, & Fry, 1995). Even if they are not economically motivated, collectors working outside the confines of the law pose a threat to sites with their callous treatment of historical locations.

Another case of importance in the Midwest is the Slack Farm Incident. In this case, a farm a few miles outside of Uniontown, Kentucky was the location of a known Native American burial ground. Originally, the Slack family kept looters off the site, but when ownership passed to new tenants there was a change (Fagan, 1988). Several looters approached the tenants of Slack Farm in autumn of 1987 and offered them a sum of ten thousand dollars for permission to dig on the site. The looters were granted permission and utilized heavy machinery such as tractors to move vast amounts of earth searching for valuables interred with the dead (Fagan, 1988).

Over the course of the next two months, at least six hundred and fifty graves were disinterred. Eventually, calls from other locals living nearby prompted the authorities to investigate. Although the dig site was on private land, any finding of human remains had to be reported to authorities (Arden, 1989). When authorities arrived, they were prevented from coming on to the property by the looters. Human remains were allegedly visible and authorities returned with a cease and desist order, which effectively ended the looting in December of 1987 (Arden, 1989).

At the time, the crime that was applicable was desecration of a venerated object. This was a misdemeanor in Kentucky at the time and carried a small fine (Hicks, 2001). Several of the looters were residents from surrounding states and could not be extradited for a misdemeanor (Hicks, 2001). The media heavily focused on this case, and eventually the state of Kentucky elevated desecration of a gravesite from a misdemeanor to a felony

offense. The Slack Farm incident is also widely cited as the inspiration for the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, or NAGPRA (Davis, 1998).

What these two incidents in the Midwest demonstrate is that there is real resistance to professional methodology which archaeologists and lawmakers must work together to combat. Like the incident at Slack Farm, legislative action was only undertaken after the damage had been committed. Another problem is that this occurred in America, where rule of law is easier to enforce than in other troubled parts of the world.

In the Midwest, efforts should be focused into convincing private land owners to allow professional archaeologists working with universities or non-profit organizations to collect resources, rather than selling rights to collectors or digging up artifacts themselves.

The reason for the focus on private land owners is the federal government has little control in the American Midwest. East of the Mississippi, the federal government only owns approximately four percent of the land (Bui & Sanger-Katz, 2016). Even though there are federal laws in place to halt looting, their span of control is limited to the lands the federal government owns. Far more land remains under the control of private citizens or enterprises.

Convincing private citizens to allow digging and reclamation efforts is the most difficult task for securing artifact safety. The market for antiquities promotes individuals selling digging rights to collectors rather than allowing non-profit organizations to use their lands. It does not seem economically viable to attempt to outbid the market for digging rights in its current state, as the demand for artifacts commands too high a price.

Around the globe, many countries seem to face that same issue. Demand for artifacts drives an illegal market of illicitly gathered antiquities. This same issue appears in the Middle East, American Southwest, and the American Midwest. In recent years, the threat of antiquities being stolen has become a global problem, one that requires a global solution. Although different regions have solutions that might better work in their respective locations, we also must consider what can be done to limit illicit trade in every part of the world.

As demonstrated by the looting of the Baghdad Museum, foreign buyers help create a demand for looting and are a problem that must be dealt with. Cutting off foreign buyers would help drop demand, which is a persistent problem with developing nations. While some countries are taking steps to help guard against this economic activity, others are making it difficult to prosecute offenders.

One case example of laws that are ineffective at helping prosecute offenders is the German senate ratifying a 1970 UNESCO Convention in 2007. While it is helpful that Germany signed on to the convention, the problem lies in their interpretation of the law. According to German law, objects must be listed by their countries as historically valuable, which means only specific items fall under the protection of this law (Curry, 2007).

While this technically fulfills the requirements for the convention, illegally excavated artifacts do not receive this protection in Germany, which makes following and tracking stolen antiquities that much harder. Lack of unity between countries only makes fighting organizations trafficking antiquities a bigger challenge. Communication between countries is something that should be focused on to help this issue.

The problem with allowing countries like Germany that have trade with the rest of the developed world to hold these standards is that it becomes a stopover location for traffickers. Once in Germany, artifacts that might be illegal in other countries can be converted into legal merchandise and shipped to the desired location (Curry, 2007).

In other parts of the world, resources are not abundant enough to deal with the global market of illicit goods. Although it is ranked as the second largest art market in the world, London faced a serious budget cut in 2008 when Scotland Yard's Art and Antiques Unit faced a fifty percent budget cut (C. R., 2007). The widespread looting of Iraq during the early years of the American-led invasion strained police resources even before this cut. In addition, a large-scale forgery market developed collaterally with the stolen artifact market, with some estimates placing nearly four hundred million dollars' worth of forgeries being sold in the U.K every year (C. R., 2007).

Without the proper resources, there is very little law enforcement can do to fight this type of crime. Public perception is very important in these matters because resources will be funneled where the public's concerns are. Getting the public's interest to include stolen and illegally excavated goods should be another top priority in the fight against this trade. Unlike communication between countries though, this has a clearer answer.

Tying illegal sales of artifacts to other criminal enterprises such as terrorism and organized crime is an effective appeal to the public's interest. In America, cartels and drug trafficking organizations have ties to artifact excavation, which already has large amounts of funding (Yates, Kila, & Balcells, 2014). In other parts of the world, demonstrating ties to terrorism is a powerful technique when showing the public how this activity can fund more violent crimes. As shown during the war in Iraq, funding for

terrorist activities came in part from illegal artifact sales (Wilson, 2007). With this negative association, illicit artifact trade takes on a much more sinister appearance.

Beyond getting the public interested in the issue of this specific kind of theft, training local law enforcement is an effective way to target this crime. Local law enforcement has much more contact with locals. Due to this, educating authorities in areas where there is a culture for antiquity theft may help identify and put a halt to crimes that might have gone unnoticed by larger governmental organizations and watch groups.

Areas in the Midwest and Southwest would benefit greatly from these types of programs. One example of this type of program was a joint initiative between the Ohio State University Department of Public Safety and the Columbus, Ohio Division of Police. In 1997, these organizations worked together to present programs about crimes against cultural property to members of local security organizations, neighborhoods, and business communities (Charney, Denton, & Kleberg, 2012).

Many police departments outside of major cities do not have dedicated units towards policing this type of crime (Charney, Denton, & Kleberg, 2012). Since the resources to create a dedicated unit could be difficult to procure, working to enhance the base knowledge of officers who could come into contact with this crime is a cost efficient alternative.

Another alternative is to get the art community itself involved. When the Scotland Yard Arts and Antiquities Unit received its budget cut, it created an inventive to help fill the gap left by the decrease in funds. The ArtBeat program was developed, in which specialists from the art community would work as special constables for several days

each month assisting police officers in ongoing investigations (Charney, Denton, & Kleberg, 2012).

Funding, communication, and education are the most effective methods for dealing with the global problem of antiquity theft. By creating a strong coalition to share information and resources, a system can be built to help tackle the problem at all levels, regardless of a country's particular problems. These goals give a clear target as to how to deal with theft and how countries can assist in building this network.

Another crime to consider tracking along with antiquity theft is forgery. The economic benefits of cultural art theft extend to forgeries, especially in markets where the authenticity of the artifact is based only on the seller's word. The opportunity for forgers to make profit by selling forged artifacts complicates the challenge of dealing with stolen artifacts by creating a tertiary market that feeds into the demand for stolen goods.

The United States Department of Justice lists art crime, including theft of historical resources, behind only drug and arm sales as the highest-grossing criminal trade (Charney, Denton, & Kleberg, 2012). The size of this market makes forgery a primary concern, as they are an important part when considering how to close this market.

Differing from stolen artifact dealers, forgeries have a distinct criminological profile. While many artifact dealers are unskilled with little knowledge of the art community outside of buyers, forgers often have specialized knowledge in art and have specific modus operandi (Charney, Denton, & Kleberg, 2012). This profile makes the tertiary market of forgers more easily tracked and studied as the specialized knowledge required to create forgeries limits the numbers of potential offenders.

Antiquity theft is a crime that has a unique effect on culture, and one that should be studied by criminologists, especially as its effects are becoming better known. Its economic impact in the criminal world and its growing ties to terrorist organizations and other militant groups makes this a growing issue that cannot be ignored.

On a local and global level, misappropriation of artifacts has remained a constant threat to archaeologists and has appeared across the world. Cultural internalization of the tradition of grave robbing has been found in various cultures including the American Midwest and Southwest, as well as in the Middle East and South and Central America.

To combat this global threat, possible solutions have been suggested that include specific solutions targeted towards regional differences in attitude and economic factors. These tailored solutions are not an exhaustive list, but provide enough groundwork that free trade of artifacts in these regions may be slowed to an acceptable level.

On a global scale, a network based on communication and education appears to be the best option for combatting illicit trade in metropolitan areas. Educating the local community about the dangers of this illicit trade is an important piece in creating this communication network.

Another important element that was discussed in creating this network is the education of local law enforcement officials. Resources normally used to deal with the illicit trade of artifacts are often centralized in large cities, which allows for looters operating in rural environments much more leeway in their operations. Combining trained law enforcement with a willing local populace is one way that the global crisis of artifact theft may be dealt with.

The changes that have been suggested to law enforcement must be implemented to match a changing world. If we continue on our current path of disregard, we risk allowing untold amounts of history to be destroyed or lost forever. Unregulated trade and dangerous recovery methodology by amateur archaeologists have demonstrated the damage they are capable of and must be taken seriously.

More criminological studies should be undertaken regarding this crime for us to fully understand how best to deal with this issue. Operating on known principles will only allow us to go so far, as this crime often goes unregistered by authorities. In the next few decades, we will see the full effects of this type of crime and whether or not we put measures in place now will reflect that. By examining our present course, we may better preserve our past for our future.

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